

PEACE NEWS

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PREPARE NOW FOR A LASTING PEACE

Four Terms for a Settlement That Will Save Civilization

By Dr. A. HERBERT GRAY

I HOPE and believe that I am a convinced Pacifist, and I at least try to be a practising one.

I am quite clear that killing my fellowman cannot be reconciled with Christianity. I am equally clear that war is a delusion and cannot accomplish the ends for which it is engaged in.

I consider Nazism a malignant spiritual disease, but I am sure it cannot be cleansed from the earth by any employment of its own evil weapons. Therefore I find something tragic in the present situation.

An immense amount of really fine devotion is being expended in this war, as in the last. But liberty and justice and democracy can no more be established in the world by this war than they were by the last one. That men should die heroically but in vain is surely always essentially tragic.

And so my pacifist convictions remain unshaken. But now the thing that we all hate has come to pass, and the question arises "What should pacifists do in wartime?" And about that question I find myself of a different mind from some of my fellow pacifists.

Firstly, I cannot reconcile a habit of railing at the Government with any real pacifism.

No Prime Minister of this country could possibly pursue a really pacifist policy in face of aggression, for the simple reason that we are not a pacifist nation. We do not understand the technique of non-violent resistance, and as a nation we have no intention whatever of learning it. However critical I may be of the policies of this country since the last war—and they do indeed seem to me to have been fatuous—I believe our present Prime Minister has gone as far in the pursuit of peace as was possible for any man with the followers he has behind him. Moreover, under his government we pacifists enjoy a measure of liberty which could not be ours in any other country in the world. I think we ought gratefully to recognize that fact.

"Magnificent Spirit"

And secondly, I cannot believe it is any part of our business to criticize those who serve the Crown in any military capacity. It may be a crime to kill. But it can never be anything but highminded to risk one's own life for one's country. The daring resource and even recklessness of our men are to me so magnificent that I take new hope for the future of our nation from the story of their doings. If only all that magnificence of spirit could be harnessed to a cause really worthy of it!

What then is our business in wartime?

I suggest that we should remember that, horrible as war is, a bad peace is even worse, and that now is the time in which to prepare for a good peace. In her present mood I believe Britain to be capable of conceiving and consenting to a noble peace, which should have constructive value for all the nations of Europe.

But how long will this mood last? If days of "frightfulness" await us in the future, will our spirits stand up under that strain? Is it not only too likely that we shall hear again the talk of fools in which

(Continued on page 3)

R. H. WARD
says:
**PACIFISM
IS NEEDED
NOW!
(page 4)**

WOMEN AND WAR

By Mary Gamble

DURING the winter of 1936-37, when taking part in our first Peace Pledge Union campaign, I was invariably asked to speak from the woman's point of view. Several times I was disconcerted before I spoke by somebody, usually a woman, assuring me that there was no woman's point of view. This was rather shattering, as I had spent some time preparing a speech which I hoped embodied it!

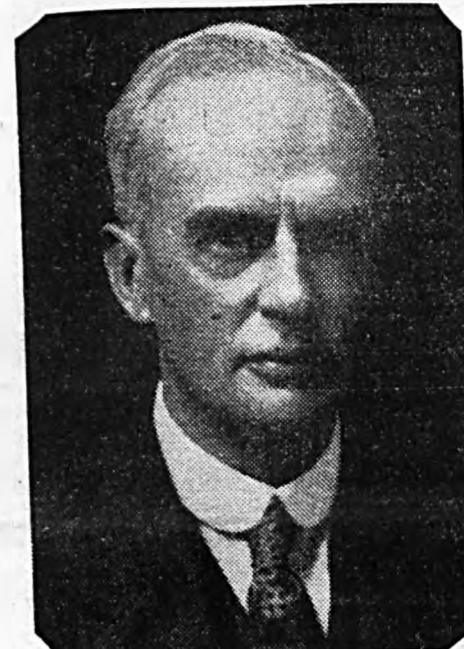
Although I could seldom find an answer to that assertion, somehow I knew in my bones that women have a peculiar contribution to make to life at this time. I often said to myself: "Women could prevent war, they could stop war by being women—real women."

But to explain what I meant by that seemed beyond my ability. Gropingly I suggested that the power lay in woman's basic instinct for creation; but then I realized that that instinct is equally fundamental in man.

Women in Uniform

In this month's Adelphi, Mary Neal, in an article entitled "The Broken Law," shows the essential difference between the rhythms of men and women. She contends that the world today is on a masculine rhythm—the rhythm of war—which is destructive, and the feminine rhythm is "stilled and submerged."

(Continued on page 4)



Dr. A. HERBERT GRAY, the distinguished Presbyterian minister, now retired. He is one of the advisers on PPU policy. His publications include "What's the Good of Religion?", "The Difficulty and the Art of Living," and "Love the One Solution."



EUROPE, 1916

(Reproduced from a drawing by Boardman Robinson in the New York "Masses")

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO

Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

Futility of War Sacrifices :: Soldiers May Not Have Scruples :: Wanted, A Will to Peace

C. H. AMIES, of Kenton, writes:

"The British Ambassador to the United States, the Marquess of Lothian, speaking at a dinner given by the Council of Foreign Relations in Chicago on Thursday of this week, said, in explanation of the reason why Great Britain had declared war, that 'we were confronted with one more of those tremendous struggles between freedom and tyranny which have been the central theme of history ever since the Greeks turned back the power of Persia at Thermopylae and Salamis'.

"His Lordship, however, neglected to remind the Council that the sacrifice and slaughter of Leonides and his force of 1,400 picked men, which drama His Lordship believes we are now re-enacting, did not succeed in establishing Greek freedom and independence. It served, as do all other sacrifices upon the battlefield, merely to afford a period of intensive rearming, fortifying and drilling in preparation for another and bigger conflict.

"Just as this present war has once again exploded the fallacy that intensive arming ensures peace, so history shows that 'victories' in warfare do not ensure freedom or independence. The great military and naval power of Greece passed quickly, in the same manner that the armed might of Babylon, Chaldea, Egypt and, in turn, Persia had passed, when it came face to face with another military and naval force superior in numbers or equipment. All the sacrifices in lives and wealth were rendered void when the Greeks succumbed to the Roman legions and ships.

Lesson Ignored

"YET even twelve centuries of military dominance likewise failed to establish the Roman Empire on a permanent foundation, but this and other lessons in the futility of warfare so regularly given since the dawn of history remain unlearned by the majority of people including our Ambassadors.

"Perhaps some of the members of the Council of Foreign Relations may have remembered the words of their esteemed countryman, Emerson, in his immortal essay *The Oversoul*, when he wrote: 'The landscape, the figures, Boston, London are facts as fugitive as any institution past, or any whiff of mist or smoke, and so is society, and so is the world.'

"Mankind has steadfastly refused to learn the lessons to be found in history during the past 6,000 years, otherwise the realization would long since have been reached that warfare achieves nothing other than the opportunity to prepare for a

yet greater, more devastating and more expensive conflict.

"National independence, freedom and progress are not rendered certain or permanent by useless slaughter in a Greek mountain pass, any more than they can be made certain by the starvation of a nation's civilian population."

No Scruples Allowed

If one described the army as "unscrupulous" organization, many worthy people might be shocked. But that it would be a true description was shown at a recent court-martial at Bishop Auckland.

The defendant, Trevor Torr, was accused of disobeying a command to assemble a Bren gun on December 9.

He put the following question: "Did you warn me that religious scruples, however bona fide they may be, cannot be entertained?"

A second lieutenant answered: "I warned you that such scruples were no excuse for refusing or neglecting to obey a lawful command."

A clear enough indication that, once in the army, a man is expected to surrender his power to distinguish between right and wrong.

The circumstances of this particular case are also interesting to potential COs. The defendant had originally applied to be registered as a CO, but was given the wrong form by a clerk at the Ludlow Labour Exchange.

Later he pointed out the mistake to a senior clerk, who assured him that, as he was willing to go into the RAMC, it did not really matter as he would be able to choose his own regiment.

Despite this assurance, he eventually found himself in the Artillery, with the consequent court-martial.

It is clear that COs cannot take too much care to see that they are given the appropriate form on their registration day.

No "Victory"

TRUTH is sometimes expressed in quarters where one least expects it. Many people, for instance, might not expect a banking concern to take a very objective view of the present war, in view of the part with which such organizations have been credited in perpetuating conditions that lead to war.

But read these extracts from a Market Letter issued by the Continentale Hadelsbank, of Amsterdam:

"Once again the old Roman saying, *si vis pacem, para bellum* (if you want peace, prepare for war), has proved wrong. Had the will to peace on all sides been as strong as the preparations for war have been extensive, Europe would not have plunged again into a war which is generally considered as a continuation of the Four Years War....

"One thing the years 1914-18 have taught: the present war, an almost inevitable consequence of conditions in recent years, will neither benefit nor really enrich anyone."

Thus the view of a business house coincides with that of "impracticable idealists."

When will our statesmen pay heed to the voice of experience? The answer appears to be—when the voice becomes multiplied a million-fold, through the words and deeds of the ordinary man and woman in the street. "The will to peace" must be strengthened.

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

Silver Jubilee Number

48 pages Price 3d., post free 4d.

JANUARY, 1940

Includes contributions from

George Lansbury, Sybil Thorndike, Stuart Morris, The Rev. C. G. Holland.



CADBURY'S MILK CHOCOLATE IS A FOOD

"I had thought that Dominion Status according to the Statute of Westminster was equivalent to Independence. The expression Dominion Status has a special connotation. It refers to a commonwealth of Whites who are themselves pillars of imperialism engaged in exploiting the non-European races whom they regard as uncivilized.

"India free will be no party to such exploitation. But there is nothing to prevent free India from entering into an alliance with Britain for the protection of the freedom of all whether black, brown or white. Therefore, if Dominion Status is less than Independence, India cannot be satisfied with less. If it is synonymous with Independence, then India has to choose how she would describe her status."

Minorities Problem

AS for the charge that Congress had failed to settle its differences with the Muslim League, this was Mr. Gandhi's reply:

"The Congress has never given up the effort to solve the communal question. It is even now engaged in the difficult task. But it is wrong to use Congress inability to reach a solution for keeping India from her destined goal.

"British officials, including Viceroys, have admitted that they have ruled by following the policy of 'divide and rule.' The British established themselves by taking advantage of our internal quarrels and have remained by keeping them alive."

Mr. Gandhi concluded:

"The Congress, before it can offer ungrudging support to Britain, wants to feel sure that hers is an absolutely just cause. The recent events have created a grave doubt about it. Absolute protection of the minorities is a greater concern of the Congress than it ever can be of Great Britain...."

J. Middleton Murry on THE SOLUTION OF THE DILEMMA

WAR is the inevitable outcome of the kind of civilization in which we live. So with the new movement of Federal True, we know of no civilizations which wage war by federating the democracies—were entirely pacific; but the peculiar horror of this one is that its whole States. What could be simpler? Nothing economic structure forces the pace towards war, and its technical achievement intensifies the potentiality of destruction in war.

Thus, year by year and day by day peace becomes more of a human necessity. Because it is more of a necessity, it is difficult to establish; because war also is more of a necessity. When war is necessary, peace is necessary. And there, or thereabouts, we stick.

The solution of the dilemma is easy enough, in the abstract. Peace is revolutionary; it involves the necessity of a profound change in the economic order of this civilization—a change so great that it would mean a change in the nature of the civilization itself.

It is probably not our business, as it is certainly not within our capacity, to lay down in detail the lines of the new civilization; but it is emphatically our duty to be on our guard against superficial solutions. It is inevitable, at a time when civilization is confronted with the necessity of profound change, that superficial solutions should be propounded and be popular. The pattern of these superficial solutions is always the same. Change the machinery, and not the men.

Of this kind, for example, was the doctrine of Social Credit, according to which our woes proceeded solely from a defective money-system, and the villains of the peace were the bankers who wielded a portentous and obviously diabolical thing called the money-monopoly.

All very fine; but the money-monopoly—the so-called manufacture of credit by the bankers—was not in the least an unnatural excrescence on the whole capitalist industrial system. On the contrary, it was a natural perfection of that system. The idea of cutting it out, by a neat surgical operation, under the latest anaesthetic, was chimerical. If credit-reform meant business, it meant a social and a moral revolution. You can't have that on the cheap.

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and
"The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Literature and Drama" and
"The Class War in Europe, 1918-1936" 1s. net.

By C. H. NORMAN
Procurable from E. Lahr, Bookseller,
69 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1

"What would you do if . . . ?" The stock series of posers for pacifists, put by hecklers and Tribunal members, have been effectively answered again and again from different angles. Below, one of them—the case of the burglar—is dealt with sympathetically by Mrs. M. FURNESS.

CAUSE and EFFECT

SO this is war. And it is harder than ever to be a pacifist. Before, one was treated as a fool, now one is treated as a criminal.

Non-pacifists are bringing out the same old arguments with renewed vigour. The two favourites are "What would you do if a man assaulted your sister?" and "What would you do if a burglar broke into your bedroom?"

I have not got a sister, and if I had, I do not suppose for a moment that she would be the type who would encourage a man to take liberties, so that leaves me with the second question.

Personally, I cannot see any direct analogy between the international situation and the robbery of a private person, but I will do my best to answer it.

My nerve has never been tested under such circumstances, but I hope I should have enough courage to challenge the "Nonsense," says she, "my Bill wouldn't be burglar, ask him what he wanted to hurt a fly. You murdered him, and all on account of a miserable ring worth twelve pounds at the most. Bill might have been tortoise retreats into his shell, and feign a burglar but he was always a good lad at home."

If the burglar came during the last week of the month I might, as a friend suggested, "try and touch him for a pound till the thirty-first." Alternatively, I might point out that the only thing I possess of any value is my engagement ring, which has more sentimental than monetary value and I would be obliged if he would post on the pawn ticket.

If I Shot Him . . .

NOW let us get to the more serious aspect of this problem. If I had a gun under the pillow and I were sufficiently frightened, I might shoot him dead. I did not mean to hurt the fellow, you understand, but I was frightened and I lost my head.

The law would let me off if I said I did it in self-defence—you are allowed to do almost anything in self-defence—and I should probably go free.

The burglar has been buried, he is out of sight and should be out of mind, but

What am I to do? Help them at my own expense or disclaim all responsibility and

knocking the kids about.

It is really the children she is concerned about. She has four boys, one is in Borstal for following his father's footsteps, but the others take after their mother, who is a law-abiding citizen. Since I have robbed

them of their father, who did at least provide for them, she thinks I ought to do something for them.

Restitution?

BILL'S wife is more reasonable, and when I explain that I did not mean to hurt her husband she admits there have been times when she could have done the same thing herself, particularly when he came in drunk of a Saturday night and started knocking the kids about.

It is really the children she is concerned about. She has four boys, one is in Borstal for following his father's footsteps, but the others take after their mother, who is a law-abiding citizen. Since I have robbed

them of their father, who did at least provide for them, she thinks I ought to do something for them.

* * *

Thirdly, a peace that is going to be of any lasting use to our tormented world will have to be a peace which deals with those underlying economic forces which today inevitably tend to produce war. So long as the industrial nations tolerate an economy under which they must have foreign markets to dispose of their surplus products, so long must they be rivals. And so long as only in wartime are industrial nations able to employ all the labour of the country, so long are they in a state which makes for unrest, suffering, and loss—cruel suffering and insane loss. It is to my mind a fundamental duty for pacifists to realize these facts, and to think out the challenging problem which they present.

And lastly, there is the European political problem. Politically there are only two roads to peace in Europe. One is Caesarism—the domination of the whole continent by one supremely powerful nation. And the other is Federalism.

Caesarism is utterly and for ever intolerable, Federalism is very difficult. But

there are no roads to life which are not

difficult.

But vindictiveness constructs nothing. A

ourselves capable of grappling with difficult

peace worth having may have to be a tie. And therefore I believe that pacifists

peace which calls on us for real sacrifices, are pursuing their true calling when they

give themselves to the study of the prob-

lem of Federal Union.

Prepare Now for Peace

(continued from page 1)

they suggest the utter destruction of our present enemy. And might not a terrified and indignant nation be tempted to listen to such talk? Plainly it is a task for pacifists, if they have it in them, to conserve the spirit which could make a noble peace.

Terms of Peace

Strangely, I do not happen to know what in detail the terms of the peace ought to be. But I do think I know four things about it.

Firstly, it ought to be a settlement arrived at by a conference in which neutrals as well as belligerents shall have taken part. Who can justly judge his own cause? Especially, who can even see justice when he has been living in fear and has had his heart tormented for many days? What is needed is a peace which shall have the common sense and the public opinion of the world behind it.

Secondly, it will have to be a peace from which all vindictiveness is missing. It is very hard not to feel vindictive when one reads of some of the barbarities which have been committed of late, and is confronted by the utter duplicity of rulers. Indeed, we shall only live if we prove But vindictiveness constructs nothing. A ourselves capable of grappling with difficult peace worth having may have to be a tie. And therefore I believe that pacifists peace which calls on us for real sacrifices, are pursuing their true calling when they give themselves to the study of the problem of Federal Union.

create another cause to be followed by effects which may be equally serious?

I pass that question back to the person who asks, "What would you do if a burglar entered your bedroom?" meaning, I take it, "What would you do if a Nazi entered your country, and tried to take your possessions by force?"

In the case of the professing Christian who is so confused that he cannot tell right from wrong I would answer, "What would Christ have done if a burglar had entered his bedroom?" I suggest that He would have said "What lackest thou brother? Take thy fill and go in peace."

The Only Reply

"YOU pacifists make me sick," said one irate woman to whom I was explaining that our present troubles are the effects of the Versailles Treaty; "Give Hitler Poland! Give Hitler France! Give him England! Give him the world and have done with it. We won't make the same mistake this time, we'll smash them flat."

To that line of argument I can only reply that the world is not ours to give. We can only give what belong to us, and the world belongs to the Creator who chose to people it with His children.

Some day they will stop quarrelling among themselves and return to the Father as the prodigal of old returned saying, "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son."

Invasion of Finland "Not Surprising"

ADDRESSING a No Conscription League meeting in Birmingham on Sunday, Andrew Stewart said that Russia's invasion of Finland was not any more surprising than the previous invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia, or the more immoral than the occupation of India or parts of Africa. If one postulated power politics one must expect this sort of thing.

The general lowering of the standard of living, closing of schools, decrease in the available medical services, &c., were the inevitable results of the war, he said. He believed that since Mr. Oliver Stanley had taken over Mr. Hore-Belisha's Cabinet post, they might see the introduction of Lord Derby's scheme for a "junior army" of boys leaving school, who are unable to obtain work before they reach conscription age. Why could not the money required for this training be spent in keeping them at school where they would be in a more cultured and civilized atmosphere for another couple of years?

Mr. Stewart concluded by calling for a conference in which we (who were in a privileged position, with our longer tradition of liberalism, than the peoples of France, Germany, or Italy) should take the lead in solving the problems of disarmament, imperialism, and national sovereignty.

The following resolution, to which Mr. Stewart was speaking, was carried unanimously by an audience of some 250 people.

"This meeting of Birmingham citizens registers its strong protest against the continuance of the present war, which means a terrible loss of life, untold misery and increasing hardship. It calls upon the Government to propose an armistice without delay, and also requests that they initiate the calling of a world peace conference. It further urges all sections of the Peace and Working-Class Movements to give wide publicity to the need for such a conference."

The organizers had hoped to have the two by-election anti-war candidates on the platform, but Mr. "Bob" Edwards, who contested the recent Stretford by-election, was stranded between Derby and Birmingham by black-out and fog.

THE MORAL OF MOTHER GOOSE

That curious English phenomenon, the Christmas pantomime, is tied oddly to the great English nursery stories. A pantomime could hardly be a pantomime unless it shared the name and characters of one of those immortal tales; and yet the incidents enacted on the stage bear only an intermittent relation to those we read of in our childhood, and the entire legend may easily be thrown overboard and forgotten at any moment to make way for Chinese jugglers or a comedian with a red nose.

It is a pity the stories should be so betrayed. Take the moral lesson of Mother Goose and her golden eggs. What a homily on thrift! What an incitement to store up one's treasure as a bulwark against misfortune! What an advertisement, in fact for St. Pancras Building Society and the simple way of saving it affords!

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Pacifism Is Needed NOW

says
R. H. WARD

PACIFISM "now" because we may be inclined to think that, since this country is at war and a change has come over the surface of our society, pacifism itself has changed.

In that pacifism must continually act upon contemporary conditions and react to contemporary events, it is always changing; but in essence pacifism now is no different from pacifism yesterday and pacifism tomorrow; it ought always to be founded upon values which do not change, and of which its varying outward manifestations are the reflection.

Max Plowman has always said that pacifism is nothing if it is not creative. It may at first seem difficult to understand this word "creative" in connexion with pacifism and ourselves.

We are used to applying it to artists. We know what is meant when we say that a painter or a writer is a "creative" person; but we are less used to attaching it to our thoughts of ourselves, who do not necessarily "make" things.

Dick Sheppard, at the same time, said that pacifism was nothing if it was not a way of life; and both these dicta remind me of another that illumines and explains them: Havelock Ellis was never tired of pointing out that the greatest of all the arts was the art of life.

We begin to see why Max Plowman insists on the creativeness of pacifism. If it is to be a way of living and a creative way of living, it is indeed artists that it needs, men and women who live creatively and are artists in life.

I believe that pacifism now, or at any time, is simply that: the necessity for making everything we do in life a part of the greatest art of all.

Beneath the Surface

PART of an artist's job is to be observant and critical; he looks at the things he draws or writes about and criticizes them in order to understand them. (For criticism is not the same thing as condemnation.) Yet an artist is more than observant; he has vision and insight and sees into the underlying realities of the outward phenomena which he observes and criticizes.

One of our greatest failures is the failure to be critical in the true sense. (And it is as well to remember that the Greek word for a judge, from which critic comes, is occasionally used to mean an interpreter, one who understands hidden meanings.) We observe surfaces, but we do not criticize; much less do we use our vision.

Take the present circumstances: to the casual observer the most noticeable feature of the present time is that there is a war on; war fills the whole of the picture, seems to be a monster that has sprung upon us comparatively suddenly, having, as it were, a beginning and an end. But when we look a little further, trying to use our critical faculties and our powers of interpretation and insight, we find that war is nothing like so simple.

Other "Battlefields"

WHEN we begin really to look at life, we are carried beyond its superficial circumstances to others that are intangible, but nevertheless very potent.

The superficial circumstances of war are bombs, submarines, guns and the damage to life and property that these do. But these things are not the whole of war or the only kind of it. If we examine a stratum of life less obvious, we shall find war being waged there as well.

For instance, the economic and commercial stratum is in a state of war, and was in a state of war long before the political stratum came to grief and the bombs and guns appeared (or, as we say, "war broke out"). The field of commerce is a battlefield, and one far more ruthless, lawless and un-moral than the battlefields of which we usually think. For money, and the power it represents, the most merciless crimes are continually being committed: the brutal effects of a deal in the commercial world are far further reaching than those of a torpedo that sinks a mere handful of human creatures.

And if we penetrate one layer lower, to the social field, that also is a battlefield; there the class-war is waged, the war of snobbery and social jealousy, and it too is ruthless and utterly selfish; on that plane there is no quarter for the vanquished or for those who are wounded or taken prisoner. We can see this war going on in small matters all around us: the rivalry

This is the first of a series of three articles.

RICHARD WARD was for some time Literary Adviser to the PPU. He was the founder of the Adelphi Group, and inspired the creation of the Pacifist Service Bureau.

He is at present engaged in literary work. His publications include "The Technique of Non-Violence" and "The Human Factor."

over the garden-fence about the respective merits of this year's hollyhocks; Mrs. Jones has a new motor-car and Mrs. Smith who lives next door has to have one too, and a better one, in order to outdo Mrs. Jones. These are trivial examples, but very real ones.

Within Ourselves

WE are getting nearer home. The process of critically examining the social order in which we live is an increasingly painful one. But it has to be gone through, like other pains, if we are to come out into health and sanity. It is painful because it brings us to the point at which we have to examine ourselves; and that always hurts, so that we always escape it if we can.

For the next stratum is that which is inside our own homes; it concerns itself with

our own intimate personal relations. And these, we have to admit, are war-relations also, no less than international ones.

Which of us who is honest can avoid admitting warfare between himself and his close associates, those with whom he works in his office, his brothers and sisters, his parents or his wife? If there is no warfare under our own roof (and it need not be very noticeably explosive to be warfare still), we are rare and lucky beings.

But there is one further step to be taken in this journey downwards from the sphere of international warfare, through the other battlefields of which we usually never think, to the personal battlefield; that step brings us to our individual selves, and the warfare which is going on within us. This is the sphere at which it is hardest of all to look and from which, if we possibly can, we turn tail and flee.

The moment we begin to realize that we are ourselves implicated in responsibility for the various wars that are ceaselessly being waged, we look for an escape; we look for a scapegoat and try to fix the blame on it in order to salve our own consciences.

It is then that, looking at our warring world, we decide that the blame lies with the government, or the Church, or Hitler, or the capitalists, or even the BBC or the newspapers. But it is we who put the government in power; the newspapers are as they are because we read them, and the men who make money out of them know well enough what we like to read. If we get rid of one government and put another in power, the disgraceful state of affairs, though its accents may perhaps be changed, still remains disgraceful.

We may unload our sins on to the scapegoat and shoo him off into the wilderness, we may blame this or blame that, condemn this or condemn that as the cause of social evils (war included), but it makes no difference; the evils still persist.

Shaw Said:



J.M.
John Millar.

"When we complain we are told that we must all make sacrifices, and that we had better buy white overcoats, carry our gas masks everywhere, and take wildly impracticable precautions against high explosive blast and poison gas."

"Naturally we cry, 'Sacrifice! Yes, but what for?' You tell us to be resolute and determined, but we cannot be resolute and determined in the air about nothing."

"What are we suffering for?"

"Upon what are we resolved?"

"What have we determined?"
"What in the devil's name is it all about, now that we have let Poland go?"

WOMEN AND WAR

(continued from page 1)

As I read her words, it seemed to me that here was the explanation that I was seeking. I knew now why the sight of women clad in khaki or navy or air-force blue filled me with a feeling of despair.

It was not just because the uniform seemed to me repellent, but for the reason that they epitomized the essential "wrongness" of war in woman's life.

Is it possible for women to find their true rhythm? We can only do so by going down deep into the very wells of our being and finding once more the hidden sources of life. Only by rediscovering those things which are fundamental to all women can we learn to live on our rhythm.

In his *Letters to a Young Poet* Rainer Maria Rilke wrote:

"Women, in whom life lingers and dwells more immediately . . . must naturally become fundamentally riper people, more human people, than man who is easy-going . . . and who, presumptuous and hasty, undervalues what he thinks he loves."

Life lived on the masculine rhythm is hurrying the world today with terrifying speed into the abyss of degradation and despair. It would almost seem that women, for the most part unknowingly, hold the secret of salvation in their hands. For, as Mary Neal writes:

"If the rhythm of life can be completed by the union of the masculine and feminine, we shall achieve a new world, undreamed of in its beauty, harmony and creative love."

I believe that, in the process of rediscovering our rhythm, we shall learn that pacifism must be creative of a new way of living.

Not a new way really, but a way different from that which has inevitably led to war. A way of life which is very simple, and as far removed as possible from the speed and chaos of this mad age of the machine.

It seems to me that women, who, at any rate in greater numbers than men, are not so enmeshed in the grim struggle inherent in industrial and business life today, have more chance of seeing the way to this simpler life. I do not believe that this is "our" world. And in saying that I do not so much blame men for its creation, as our lack of understanding and imagination to discover woman's own rhythm of life.

Many prophecies have been made for 1940, some of them are indeed grim forebodings. Is it too much to hope, as we start on our Women's Campaign, that this year may find within the Pacifist Movement many women willing to work, with all the imagination and love that they possess, for the creation of a world which is complete?

Women's Peace Campaign

THE committee of the Women's Peace Campaign have now formulated their objectives as follows:

1. To gather up and co-ordinate the deep-felt desire among women for peace.

2. To influence public opinion to realize that a *just* peace must be a negotiated peace, not one dictated by victor to vanquished.

3. To demand that our government should seek the way of negotiation before the degradation and cruelty of war have slaughtered millions and destroyed the fabric of civilization.

4. To register our conviction that our country, if it really desires a *just* peace, must show its readiness to make the sacrifices which such a peace demands. The sacrifices will involve:

(a) The promotion of an improved standard of living of all peoples through the free exchange of goods and services and an equality of access to raw materials.

(b) The development of an International Colonial System having as its object the well-being of the native peoples and their preparation for self-government.

(c) The surrender of some measure of national sovereignty for the building up of a new world order.

5. United in our horror of war, and our conviction that evil will never be defeated by evil, we work for a new social order based upon service and justice and love.

In order to bring these objectives into the realm of practical effort it is proposed:

1. To get permission from as many women's organizations as possible to send speakers to their groups.

2. To organize a Women's Day for February 17, when there will be poster parades, marches and meetings in as many districts as possible. This is to be followed by a further mass demonstration all over the country at the end of March.

The campaign wants money and it wants help. Please write to Sybil Morrison, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

London Study Circle

On every second Sunday in the month (commencing January 14 and ending June 9) a Study Circle will be held at 6 p.m. in The Dew Drop Inn, 71 Vallance Road (turning practically opposite London Hospital, Whitechapel). The subject will be "Passivism—its active expression in private and public life" and the circle will be led by Rosa Hobhouse.

A Page of Foreign News, Mainly of the Peace Movement Abroad**NEW ZEALAND****Premier Begs Pacifists to Desist From Propaganda**
MEETINGS BROKEN UP

THROUGH following a bold policy of taking their message to the public through street meetings, New Zealand pacifists have come into conflict with the police.

In one instance the Acting Prime Minister intervened, and though he said he would not allow charges of sedition to be brought against them, wished they would not hold street meetings.

On the day on which war was declared several pacifists addressed a crowd outside the New Zealand Parliament. Three of them (the Rev. O. E. Burton, Chairman of the Christian Pacifist Society; Neil Trail, of the CPS and the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union; and Michael Young, Secretary of the PPU) were arrested and charged with "obstructing the police." They had refused to stop addressing the crowd.

They refused to accept bail and were remanded for two days; they also refused to give an undertaking not to continue their activities before their appearance in court.

Acting Premier Intervenes

After being in the police cells for a while, they were sent out of town. Then came an order for their return, when they found the Acting Prime Minister waiting for them. He is an old friend of Mr. Young, and also knows Mr. Burton; with other Cabinet Ministers, he was imprisoned during the last war.

He asked the pacifists to allow him to stand bail for them, to which they agreed. He also made the remarks quoted above.

When they afterwards appeared in court they were convicted and ordered to come up for sentence within twelve months if called upon. The magistrate wished to acquit them in return for an undertaking not to engage in further activities, but they refused to give this undertaking.

A few days later Mr. Burton was again arrested when addressing an open-air meeting. Though there was no real evidence to prove the charge of "obstructing the police," he was fined £10. He refused to pay, and the fine was eventually paid by a military friend.

Propaganda Goes On

Undaunted, both the New Zealand PPU and the Christian Pacifist Society have since then carried on weekly street meetings and on two occasions the police have broken them up.

Audiences have been large and sympathetic, the only hostility being that shown to interjections and to the police.

The pacifists have made a practice of advising the police and other authorities affected of their intentions.

They have not, however, been able to secure permits for their meetings from the City Council of Wellington, and challenged their authority to issue permits after the police had closed one meeting. When Mr. Young wrote to the Commissioner about this action of the police, he was told that no record could be found of the meeting in question having been interfered with.

Another result of pacifist activity has been that several Methodist ministers have received six months' notice, and a prominent member of the New Zealand PPU has been told that if he is in further trouble with the authorities he will lose his job.

Message from New Zealand

THE following message has been sent to English signatories of the Peace Pledge by the secretary of the Wellington (New Zealand) branch of the Peace Pledge Union.

"Courage in the face of adversity—determination to stand for truth and respect of human personality—faith in the ultimate victory of reason and truth."

HOLLAND**Peace Conference Urged
"Before Worst Happens"****PRIME MINISTER'S PLEA**

A WARNING to those who "expect that their victory will bring about a better future," and a call for a conference "before the worst has happened" were expressed by the Dutch Prime Minister, Jonkheer de Veer, in a New Year broadcast last week.

"We know," he said, "that the darkness which has fallen upon the world may become unbearable, but at the same time we cling to every sign which might give rise to hope."

"Those who are fighting expect that their victory will bring about a better future, but experience teaches that it is possible this hope will not be realized. War leaves ruins also in the spirit, and does not produce a fertile soil for the growth of a true peace. Such a peace as is aimed at by all the belligerents can only be the fruit of good will and understanding."

Not Too Late

"It is not too late yet. Let us take our places at a conference-table before the worst has happened."

"Picture the spectacle of two powerful adversaries wrestling with each other on a narrow path on the brink of a precipice! It is evident to the onlooker, not only that they have an equal chance of being thrown over the edge, but also that each may share the fate meant for the other. This is the picture which I see when I think of what is threatened if the war should be continued to the bitter end."

"We are glad, therefore, that many voices are rising in Europe and in America which cry out for reason. We may suppose that these voices are also finding a response in the belligerent countries, although there it cannot be admitted at an early stage for fear of arousing the suspicion of weakness."

Scandinavian Churchmen Will Work for Peace

A N indication that they would work for a constructive peace was contained in a letter sent to Christians in the belligerent countries from the Primates of the Scandinavian churches, associated with a representative of the Finnish Church.

The letter, which was one result of a conference held in Oslo about a week before the Russian attack on Finland, declared:

"The strictest closing of borders has not been able to prevent the fact that the suffering has been exactly the same on both sides. That which is after all stronger than that which divides . . ."

"This fellowship of suffering has made the idea of humanity stronger than it has ever been. Out of the depths the human race cries as one soul for deliverance . . ."

"We are conscious of the duty to keep out of the conflict, but never to fail the Christian fellowship. We should be guilty of such failure if we did not according to our liability throw ourselves into the fight for truth and love and reconciliation . . ."

"Possibly we might become instruments for creating an understanding between Christians whose consciences are distressed by that which produces unnecessary misconception and gives pain. We hope that it may even be possible to arrange restricted and confidential gatherings with representatives from your country during war-time also . . ."

"Furthermore, we face the, humanly speaking, overwhelming task of working for a constructive peace, a peace based on the Christian principles of truth, justice, and brotherhood, that foundation upon which the whole of our European humanity has been built up, even though we have all failed it most lamentably in time gone by."

"While working for this peace we have been told that it may be taken in bad part if representatives from small nations meddle in the affairs of the great. We cannot believe that any of you thinks so in his heart of hearts. But even if such should be the case we will not fail your cause and that of Christianity, though this may not meet with approval for the moment . . ."

Forced Labour For Native Tax Defaulters

In the debate in the South African Parliament the representatives of the natives made a strong protest against the "disregard for the human aspect" of the native in the "new slave law." The new bill makes provision for forced labour by natives who have not paid their poll tax.

Mrs. Ballinger maintained that the root

problem as to why the natives did not pay their taxes remained unsolved, and that was low wages.

In a leading article, the *Rand Daily Mail* severely criticized the bill, pointing out that the natives were grossly underpaid and that advantage was being taken of the bill to provide farmers with even cheaper labour. The article concluded: "The bill, in fact, admirably shows just what can happen to any section of the population who have no vote—or, at any rate, a vote that does not matter."

Irish Parliament Hears Pacifist

The following are extracts from a speech by Patrick Agnew, MP, in the Northern Ireland Parliament on December 20:

"I still proclaim my faith for peace. I have no faith in war, because evidently war is something according to governments which should be glorified. I say no. There is no glory in war . . ."

"As regards the war I pledge my faith that peace is best. It would be much better to talk over terms of peace even if the discussions lasted two years than to have six months of this war. There are ample supplies in the world for all, and when greed and plunder are stopped and when the extension of imperialism is at an end then we can say there is hope for peace."

PRIMATE URGES PEACE

Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, last week urged his congregation to pray for peace. He said he was still of the opinion that a just peace was far more likely to be obtained now than after a long war.

He added that it was very probable that both sides must now be more willing to make peace than they were three or four months ago. Each side had seen that the other is strong and well prepared, and he said that if peace was not made now it was likely to be a war lasting for years. He asked them to pray earnestly that peace negotiations might be started immediately.

INTEREST IN S. AUSTRALIA**The Tragedy**

"The great tragedy of the war was not so much that human beasts found unnatural license, but that ordinary men, kindly and generous men, husbands, sons, brothers, good comrades, who loved and were loved, were drawn into hideous conflicts in which their plain duty appeared to lie in the desecration and destruction of the lives of other men as kindly and decent as they."

—From *The Silent Division*, by O. E. Burton (Angus and Robertson, Sydney, Australia, 6s. 6d.).

'Ware Greeks!

A RE we cheered or alarmed by the increasing publicity given recently in warring nations to articles on a 'world federation,' a 'new order,' a 'United States of Europe'? Liberal clamour in London wants some such thing to be included in British War Aims. Destroy Hitlerism by violence, and then—The Nazi leaders also promise Europe a peaceful Continental era of mutual co-operation—after England's meddling is forcibly stopped.

"Why do we believe any country's war aims? Don't they all reduce to—WIN THE WAR? It is no new trick. Belligerents must advertise their wares, for the home front needs to be enthusiastic and non-belligerents need to be drawn into the maelstrom. In the World War we were told that all the fighters were fighting for peace."

"And now they tell us they are fighting for a 'New Order' and every other high aim of our hearts. A few men in high places doubtless believe sincerely in their own war aims, but will they occupy those places when peace is declared? War, even when successful, never leaves a country in the hands of its wise men, but always under the influence of the generals and admirals."

"Can neutrals risk many more months of delay before they start to lay the firm foundations of the right kind of world unity? Constructive far-sighted planning for peace has to begin in the only circles where war hysteria does not reign, among the non-belligerents, in peace-minded men and women of international outlook who are still privileged to meet and discuss and act for the peace of the world. Let us not be sidetracked by the aims of the warriors."

—December issue of *World Federation—Now* (USA).

HONOUR THE PROPHETS says John Barclay

PROPHETS are seldom recognized at a time when recognition would save the situation. Today we are once more in danger of passing them by. They are at strength which comes from such a body.

our elbow urging us to act and follow the only road which will lead us out of the shambles.

May I draw attention to them and leave you to answer the question "What are you going to do about it?"

* * * * *

Max Plowman and Middleton Murry stand head and shoulders above the crowd and patiently point the way. Read their books and listen to them whenever you can—our children will recognize them for what they are and blame us if we are blind now.

Arthur Wragg is another who has torn away the curtain and with terrifying power has left us in no doubt as to what we ought to do and say.

Dare we follow those who, because of the brilliance of their own vision, blind us and fill us with a sense of reverence, without perhaps giving us the faith to accept what we cannot see? For my part,

I am prepared to accept their teaching and follow its directions, believing it to be an inspiration from which I can gather strength if I give myself wholly to the pursuit.

Dick Sheppard, interpreting the teaching of Christ to mean simply what it said, spent his life trying to further this gospel by putting it into practice.

George Lansbury, wishing to push forward the cause of socialism, became a socialist by interpreting the message to mean that he himself must be a brother to all men.

* * * * *

Examples such as these seem to me to point to only one conclusion, that we, the rank and file of the great Pacifist Movement, should do all we can to further the cause of peace along the lines thus clearly demonstrated for us by actual lives.

There are many in the groups, especially amongst the younger members, who are impatient and eager to "get on with stopping the war." I am all with them and want to do everything in my power to help them, but I am influenced by the wisdom of those I trust and believe are prophets. What else can I do as a group member to help forward the cause of pacifism and at the same time satisfy the passionate urge within me to be "up and doing"?

The PPU organization offers a way out. It leaves the individual member quite free

"STOP-THE-WAR" CAMPAIGN

To the Editor of "Peace News"

In writing this letter we believe we are voicing the opinion of at least a strong minority in the PPU.

We feel that the activities of the Council and officials of the PPU since the outbreak of war, call for some criticism. The rank and file of the movement has never been more potentially active, yet their enthusiasm has been largely stifled by the lack of any lead from headquarters.

While one part of the PPU may feel that this is not the time for activity, yet we consider that it is the duty of headquarters to cater for all types within the PPU. They should provide the organization, the leaflets, the general framework, &c., for those who wish to be more active in stopping the war—it is then up to the individual members to decide whether or not they avail themselves of the facilities offered.

For two months now we have been put off with the excuse from headquarters that the "psychological moment" has not arrived for any big move. We consider that such moments have already come and have been missed. We want to see greater daring: a headquarters that acts on situations instead of reacting to them. We believe that in this way it is not impossible to recapture some of the spirit of Dick Sheppard, which is now so conspicuously lacking.

Here we have not space to specify detailed criticisms and suggestions. We have incorporated them into a memo, which will be gladly sent to anyone interested.

But one thing we would like to urge: that the situation merit the AGM being put forward three months to the middle of February, where these matters can be discussed. We appeal to groups to discuss this and forward their recommendations to headquarters immediately.

HONORINE CATTO
ALLAN EDEN-GREEN
JOHN HEWETSON
L. A. HISLAM
FLORENCE KING
FREDERIC LOHR
LEONARD P. PHILLIPS
RICHARD PUGH
RICHARD PUGH, Junr.
DAVID RITCHIE
DAVID SPRECKLEY.

16 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.

What the Groups are Doing

A SHORT time ago two members of the Bermondsey group were the subjects of bitter attacks from two women.

These attacks took place while the members concerned were selling *Peace News* in the local market place, but the sellers stood their ground, refraining from any verbal retaliation.

On Saturday last the women made a magnificent gesture by apologizing publicly to the two sellers. Both women purchased a copy of the paper.

One of the women has a son in the Merchant Service.

Last Saturday the group engaged in further selling of *Peace News*, supported by a display of posters. The fifty copies ordered were disposed of in about 70 minutes: a record time for the group.

At the last meeting—held jointly with the local branch of the NCL—the group was addressed by Mr. Will Morris, chairman of the NCL.

A fellowship of COs has now been formed and will meet regularly each week.

The local branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild have asked that speakers from the PPU go along as regularly as possible in the future.

Dr. Royden at Orpington

DR. MAUDE ROYDEN spoke on "The World after the War" at a recent meeting organized by the Orpington and District group. The Rev. Vincent Long was in the chair.

Dr. Royden, who emphasized that she was a complete pacifist although no longer a member of the PPU, spoke on the dangers of "chucking it all up" and relapsing into apathy in the face of the present world problems. Some day, she said, the war will end, and it will be upon us to build the new world in which war is an impossibility.

Ilford's New Year Resolution

AT the first 1940 meeting of the Ilford group twenty members each resolved to order through their newsagents an additional two copies of *Peace News* per week for distribution to friends, &c.

It was further decided to redouble outdoor selling, and a number of sellers were enrolled.

BOOKS

Tribute to a Friend

Testament of Friendship. Vera Brittain Macmillan. 10s. 6d.

AS dawn was breaking over London on the last Sunday of September, 1935, "a gentle, radiant morning," there passed from life one of literature's most gentle and radiant figures, Winifred Holtby.

She was thirty-seven. She had just completed *South Riding*, which was to be made the Book Society choice of the following March, to be awarded the James Tait Black Memorial Prize for the best novel of 1936, to be internationally acclaimed as a masterpiece, and to be used by Victor Saville as the theme of one of the finest films ever made in a British studio. Helen Simpson, in a broadcast review of the book, said that it might well stand as Winifred Holtby's monument: such a monument, at thirty-seven, can never be other than symbolic of a tragic loss to English literature.

It was imperative that we have a full and understanding biography of this remarkable and lovable personality. It was unthinkable that this task should have been entrusted to any other than Vera Brittain, her friend and close companion for sixteen years. She has done it nobly: this is a fine study of a fine human being.

The treatment is happily reminiscent of *Testament of Youth*. The attention to detail and the absorbing style which made that autobiography so remarkable are continued, so that one has the impression of reading a natural sequel to the first work. Biography and narrative are most judiciously blended with keen analysis of the subject and her work, so that at the end the book ends impressively—those who were not privileged to know her personally can almost literally see Winifred Holtby live her varied and exhausting life.

Exhausting it was, and would have been to one possessing more strength than she and saddled with fewer cares. Ever dogged by disease and disaster, even her immense vitality could not stand up to the added, constant strain of overwork and responsibilities, uncomplainingly, indeed gladly, borne, showered upon her by others. Her extraordinary calm in the face of impending death is illustrated by her first action on learning the worst from the specialist:

...she rang up H. G. Wells, whom she knew slightly through *Time and Tide*, and invited herself to tea. She had just learned, she told him, that her days were numbered, and as she had always wanted to meet him, she would consider it a definite stain upon her courage if she allowed herself to die without doing so. He happened to be in, and, astonished but benevolent, asked her to come along. She found him alone, and for two hours they talked tête-à-tête. He lived up completely to her idea of him, she told me afterwards, and she had never enjoyed herself more in her life.

"You are one of the people one can joyously differ from," Mrs. H. M. Swanwick

wrote of her. "There is so much left to applaud and to love." There are few of us who would not be proud to have this said of us. There are fewer who would merit it more than Winifred Holtby.

WHAT WENT BEFORE

The Truth About This War. British People's Party. 2s. 6d.

TRUTH, it is a commonplace, is one of the first casualties in wartime. Perusing this remarkably well documented booklet one is obliged to reflect that peace hath her veracity-victims too: the tale of broken pledges, diplomatic casuistry and downright deception becomes unbearably painful.

Starting with the Wilsonian Fourteen Points, the authors traverse the Versailles Treaty and its consequences, the Reparations fantasy, the Ruhr occupation and the disarmament controversy, and then proceed to provide documentary backgrounds for the invasions of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the German case throughout being stated with sympathy.

One serious omission in a book presuming to provide an understanding of the underlying historical causes of the present war is an account of post-war conditions in Germany, the failure of German social democracy and the rise of the Nazi Party. This might well be included in subsequent editions: certainly the compilers seem to have access to all the relevant material.

A POLICY FOR PACIFISTS

Pacifism, Revolution and Community. Alexander Millar. 3d. Privately published. (On sale at PPU Headquarters).

THIS closely argued study, published by a group of pacifist socialists, reaches the conclusion that while the political Left in this country is on the road to certain disaster and while pacifism is "good socialism," pacifism can be socially effective "only if it abandons liberal illusions, accepts the Marxist analysis, and implements the revolutionary meaning of its own Peace Pledge."

The argument is characterized by a passionate devotion to the cause of the "dispossessed" and leads up to the exhortation to "all men of good will to renounce international war, to surrender the spoils of the class war, to accept, in solidarity with the workers of the world, the necessity for non-violent revolutionary action as the only way forward to a workers' commonwealth."

A decidedly refreshing and stimulating pamphlet, which study groups would do well to read and discuss.

Andrew Stewart

It is hoped to fix up a regular and systematic rota of sellers instead of leaving it to a few enthusiasts to do it when they can.

Sheffield One-day School

RICHARD WARD will take a one-day school in Sheffield tomorrow (Saturday) on the subject of "Non-Violence."

The school will be held in the Dick Sheppard Centre, 30a Change Alley, commencing at 3 p.m., with tea at 5 p.m. and a further session at 6 p.m.

Little Bromwich Leader

A NEW leader has been appointed for the Little Bromwich (Birmingham) group. Minnie Simcox, 35 Bordesley Green East, Birmingham 9, has taken the job for a trial period, and will be called Group Secretary.

Kentish Town Group Formed

THE Kentish Town group held its inaugural meeting last Thursday at Youth House, 250 Camden Road, London, N.W.1, where future meetings will be held every Thursday at 8.15 p.m.

Twenty people were present and future activities of the group were discussed. It was decided that all Peace Pledge signatories in the district should be seen to try to obtain their support either actively or with funds through the Nottingham scheme.

It was also decided to start *Peace News* selling at the local tube stations, and nine members volunteered.

Anyone interested in the group will be welcomed at future meetings.

Dunstable Selling

THE Dunstable group has started regular street selling of *Peace News*. On each of two occasions four sellers disposed of thirty copies in just over one hour. Last week they were trying to bring the number up to forty.

Leeds Monthly Meeting

AT the monthly meeting of the Leeds group last week Richard Ward spoke on "Communal Living."

Mr. Ward gave a very interesting account of his own experiment in communal life which, although a failure, he assured the audience he did not regret for he had learnt much from it.

The basic idea of all community was that "we are all members one of another" and all parts of God. If that were true then everybody owned everything, and to kill one of those other parts of God was suicide. Anything which hurt any part of the world was leading away from that basic idea.

Kettering in December

MEMBERS of the Kettering group spent the last part of December in consolidating their position. Owing to the increase in membership several new officers were appointed, including a literature secretary and press representative.

Activities during the month included a mock tribunal with the tables turned—a militarist had to prove the logic of his arguments to a pacifist tribunal in order to obtain complete exemption from pacifism. A well-attended meeting was addressed by a German refugee who spoke on Germany from 1910.

At another meeting an observer gave a report on the Midland Tribunal at which Kettering's first objector was given exemption on condition of staying in his occupation. He commented on the fairness of the tribunal.

An address on "The Control of Industry" was given at the final meeting of the month.

A Christmas party was held on December 30 when about fifty members attended.

"Peace News" Banned in Woking

PEACE NEWS has been banned from the Woking Public Library. No reason has been definitely stated for the refusal and the local PPU Group is going to contest actively the decision of the Library Committee.

Peace Work in Felixstowe

SINCE the beginning of the war the Felixstowe group has intensified its activity and increased its active membership considerably.

Much interest was shown after two very successful public meetings, and because of this, and the formation of an FoR group in October, the general title, "Peace Fellowship," was adopted. Thenceforth well-attended chain discussions took up alternate weeks, the others being devoted to propaganda and the study of local social service problems. *Peace News* is guaranteed in all the paper shops.

A conference of teachers in the district, evacuated and local, was held in the Secondary School in November, to discuss Education and Peace.

Anybody interested should communicate with the Secretary, David Ballantyne, Saxham Lodge, Undercliff Road, Felixstowe.

Birmingham Dance Tomorrow

THE Social Committee in Birmingham has arrangements in hand for a dance in aid of the local Dick Sheppard House.

The dance will be held at Dixon's Cafe in Corporation Street tomorrow (Saturday). Dancing will commence at 6.30 p.m. and carry on until 9.30 p.m. Tickets will be 2s. each, obtainable from Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham.

Meetings for P.P.U. Members

ON Tuesday next Miss Dorothy Evans (a committee member) will speak on the Women's Peace Campaign at a meeting of London PPU group members at the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1, at 7 p.m.

The following Tuesday (January 23), Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman and Nation, will speak on "Where the Labour Party stands today," at a meeting for PPU members only (same time and place).

12, 1940

January 12, 1940

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion.

Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; aggregate meeting; Rev. Lewis MacLachlan; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 3 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; annual conference of Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors; open to all registered members of the Fellowship and who hold their membership cards.

WORCESTER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Andrew Stewart on "The Lesson of Clackmannan"; PPU.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; General Members' meeting; refreshments from 6 p.m.; PPU. This meeting is instead of the one arranged for January 6.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Balston Street; lecture: Com. T. S. Shaw on his experiences in prison as a CO during the last War; No Conscription League.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road; Mock Tribunal; Hutchestown group No Conscription League; group meetings every Friday at above address.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m. Theosophists Hall, 151 Barras Bridge; Dr. Arthur Raistrick on "What the Peace Pledge means to me"; PPU.

ROMFORD: 7.30 p.m. Spiritualist Hall, Church Lane (off North Street); meeting to arouse public opinion against the war; W. T. Colyer, P. E. Reynolds, Trevor Williams; No Conscription League and PPU.

LEICESTER: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; annual general meeting; Presidential address: C. V. Goddard; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; inter-member discussion on "Our attitude to Conscription"; PPU.

STRATFORD: 8 p.m. Conference Hall, West Ham Lane; A. D. Hewlett on "A New World Conference"; PPU.

Saturday, January 13

MAIDSTONE: 2 p.m. Earl Street (Maidstone members); 3 p.m. Sessions House; meet for regional Peace News selling; PPU.

Sunday, January 14

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Ruskin Hall, 190 Smithycroft Road; Rev. Lewis MacLachlan on "An Alternative to War"; PPU.

EXETER: 3.15 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, Northernhay Place (two doors above Plaza Cinema); Devon Regional annual meeting; PPU. If attending please inform Miss G. L. Thorne, 21 Prospect Park, Exeter, stating if tea required.

Monday, January 15

CAMBORNE: 7 p.m. Parish Vestry (near Regal Hotel); Maurice Rowntree; PPU.

PRESTON: 7.30 p.m. Fishergate Baptist Church; Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps; FoR.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Rosalind Bevan on "Conscience and Politics"; United Pacifist Group.

SELDON, SURREY: 8 p.m. Selsdon Garage Hall, 230 Addington Road; Preston Benson on "The Press in War-time"; PPU.

Tuesday, January 16

TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; City PPU group.

TROWBRIDGE: 7 p.m. Tabernacle Church Room; Rev. H. H. Bryant on "War and the Early Christians"; PPU.

GLOSSOP: 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall; Rev. Stanley Mossop on "What should be a Christian's attitude to the War?"; group meetings every Thursday, 8 p.m. in Glossop Social Service Centre; PPU.

PENZANCE: 7.30 p.m. Methodist Church Schoolroom, Alexandra Road; Maurice Rowntree; PPU and Wesley Guild. (See also page 6).

Wednesday, January 17

DERBY: 7.15 p.m. Merchant Hall, Albion Street; Miss Mary Gamble, A. Hobson and Rev. R. J. Bowyer; PPU.

FALMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Women's Institute; Maurice Rowntree; PPU.

SALE: 7.30 p.m. Assembly Rooms, Tatton Road (opposite Savoy Cinema); G. A. Sutherland on "Peace—at what Price?"; chairman: James Norbury; PPU.

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; America 3: John Ramage on "Social Questions"; PPU.

ENFIELD: 8 p.m. Baptist Hall, Cecil Road; Rev. T. H. Kilborn on "The Political difficulties of Pacifism"; PPU.

PECKHAM: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 158 Queens Road; John Barclay; PPU.

Thursday, January 18

TRURO: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Truro Vein; Maurice Rowntree; PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 7.45 p.m. Hatfield Road Methodist Church; Rev. E. C. Urwin on "The Christian Church in time of War"; chairman: Rev. Hubert J. Martin; Methodist Peace Fellowship and FoR.

EAST DULWICH: 6 p.m. Hardie House, 27 Barry Road; Andrew Stewart on "How we can make an Honourable Peace now"; PPU.

OXFORD: 8 p.m. Congregational Hall; John Barclay on "In Defence of Civil Liberties"; PPU.

Friday, January 19

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. ILP Rooms, Batson Street; Mock Tribunal; No Conscription League.

BOW: 8 p.m. Kingsley Hall; John Barclay on "Hope for 1940"; PPU.

Saturday, January 20

WORCESTER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Dr. Howard Collier on "Human Nature—can the leopard change its spots?"; PPU.

SERVICE IN TURKEY

AS you will know by your own correspondence columns, and as we know in this office from the number of letters which have been coming in recently, there is a growing feeling amongst pacifists generally that we should attempt to do some constructive relief work in Turkey.

I think, therefore, you will be interested to know that the Pacifist Service Bureau have decided to investigate the possibility of a Relief Unit to offer its services in that country. I do not need to explain what very careful preliminary work will need to be done before such a scheme can come into being. The difficulties today are enormous, not least of which is the financial one. Very few people seem to realize what a very large sum of money is needed to send even the smallest Unit to do constructive work, but in spite of the difficulties we feel that here is something of real constructive pacifism, which most of us can help with a clear conscience.

Russian Communism

Is the Russian invasion of Finland really as bad as Mr. Middleton Murry contends, that "Russian Communism is now completely purged of the element of a universal religion that it once contained"?

The internationalism inspired by the "universal religion" of Moscow was always militant and class-conscious, like that of revolutionary France. Its truest expression was to be looked for in the liberation of neighbouring peoples from the bonds of feudalism: and the continued will of the Soviet Government to do this is not disproved by its present strategy in Finland, any more than the revolutionary intentions of the French were disproved by their attacks on England. For if one thing is certain about the present war, it is that the Soviet anticipated a speedy Finnish break-down, owing to internal disunion.

The significance of the invasion and its astonishing set-backs seems to me to lie in this, that the Bolsheviks are, for the first time, being brought face to face with realities excluded by their dogmas: the reality of a capitalist country which is not seething with revolt; and a democracy so far from illusory that men of all classes are prepared to fight to the last ditch in order to preserve it. What the outcome of this collision of ideals will be it is, of course, impossible to foretell; but I see no reason, in the struggle itself, for doubting the continued vitality of both.

F. A. LEA.

Mr. J. Middleton Murry in last week's *Peace News* states that he had always looked upon Russia as the most inherently pacific of modern nations and now admits that he was wrong. So were many of us who took the same view, especially whilst Litvinov was the Foreign Secretary.

Yet I always remembered Tolstoy's words when he foretold the revolution. Writing about 1890, he said that a revolution must come within a generation unless conditions in Russia underwent a radical change; but he also said that if it was achieved by violent means its only result for the masses would be a change of masters.

GEORGE W. DOWSE.

34 St. Catherine's Road, Harrogate.

I imagine that most readers of *Peace News* will share with Mr. Middleton Murry his regrets at the degradation of Russia to a "modern totalitarian nationalism." Nevertheless, we must be our guard against a very real danger.

We must keep under restraint our expressions of disgust, so as to avoid their being used as the first steps in a campaign of propaganda against that country, and thus becoming the preliminary of a war of the Western Powers against the Soviet Union.

HAROLD MALEIN.

1 Peache Road, Downend, Bristol.

Companion Wanted

Is there any reader of *Peace News* who knows of a little boy of about seven years old in need of a home for a number of years or even for a short time? We are trying to find a companion for our own little boy (whose sister has recently died).

The child would live an open-air life in the country.

J. N. & T. W. H.

Books

I do not know whether your valuable columns have yet carried review of *The Blood of the Martyrs*, by Naomi Mitchison.

If not, or even if so, may I urge all your readers not to miss this amazing book. It should be the text-book of every conscientious objector. The Kaiser's troops were said to carry Nietzsche in every knapsack. I wish Penguin's would make it possible for every pacifist to carry this book in his pocket. Thank you, Naomi Mitchison!

ALBERT D. BELDEN.

"Kenworth," 19 Elms Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex.

Although I know it is not usual for the public to offer criticism in print, appreciative or otherwise, on current literature, I wondered if you would break this rule. Miss Vera Brittain is away for some months, therefore, we of the general public cannot write and tell her how grateful we are for *Testament of Friendship*.

Many of us never saw or heard Winifred Holby, but through reading her novels and Letters to a Friend came to have a deep admiration for her and her work, and longed to know more of herself. This wish has been fulfilled.

Miss Brittan takes us back with her. We are there ourselves, secure and hearing. The book lives for us. Now that *Testament of Friendship* has been written, Winifred Holby cannot die.

PHYLLIS ELLIS.

Homestead Kennels, Piddington Avenue, Peacehaven, Sussex.

A review appears on page 6—ED.

Twenty odd years ago, the "militant suffragettes screamed that, given the vote, women would abolish man-made war at once. I laughed and told them not to talk "clap-trap"—how angry they became. The cause of peace and harmony, which men and women alike, in every nation, should strive for, will not be advanced by unsound, prejudiced propaganda.

"MOTHER'S SON."

I am fully in agreement with your correspondent who suggests that women should fight. Why not? Women are more capable of enduring hardship and much more venomous haters than men. Only recently I heard a young woman declare that she hated every individual member of the German nation, and wanted to see them all wiped out.

I venture to say that after a few thousand women had experienced a couple of months of the horrors of trench warfare, they would very soon rush home to make peace.

CHARLES HATTON.

82 Elfendale Road, Herne Hill, S.E.24.

Women and War

Without wishing to disparage women's share in opposing war, and deny and refute the claim that women alone can or would abolish war. Some women would refuse war service, if they were conscripted, just as some men have done—and that's all.

Because some women occasionally perform automatically, a perfectly natural, exclusively female function this does not endow all women with non-violent minds and emotions. Women in bulk are just as cruel, vicious and bloodthirsty as men in bulk—they are no more moral, unselfish or peaceful than men! Is there any biological, physiological, psychological, or medical, or any other proof, that all the vicious and pugnacious qualities of boys are derived exclusively from the fathers?

The female of the species is often the most ferocious fighter and there are countless numbers of women more fit for the armed forces of "capitalist imperialism" than the boys now sent to death or mutilation by their mothers.

EDWARD W. CRUMP, "Penrose," Lake View Road, Felbridge, East Grinstead, Sussex.

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BOOKS

FREE GIFT OF BOOKS. State preference. Send 1s. 3d. postage on 15lb.—Rev. G. T. Peet, 9 Chatham Road, Worthing.

PRINTING

PACIFIST COMMUNITY can offer opportunity of moving from damp basement, and part-time work, to Handyman, Skilled Carpenter and Polisher, out of work through last war, with family of delicate young children, if others interested could guarantee some regular employment weekly or monthly. Please write—95 Leighton Road, N.W.5, where samples of work can be seen.

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WANTED

ABLE GRADUATE (Economics), CO, with full business experience desires humanitarian, social or agricultural work. Some experience of farming. Forced to leave present employment soon. Board and pocket money preferred.—Box 297, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CHRISTIAN CO

(conditional exemption) must obtain agricultural work. Inexperienced, willing

How to Swell Our Fund

THIS week's contributions to the Peace News Fund total £11 16s. 9d. We have also received a further £12 18s., representing donations paid in foreign currency during December, which have just been cleared by the bank.

The grand total therefore now stands at £421 9s. 3d.

In view of the higher costs which we have to meet now, these contributions are particularly welcome. But, while we appreciate the generosity of the Fund's supporters (at a time when they, too, have "higher costs" to meet!) we wish they were more numerous.

In this connexion Mr. John A. Whittaker (of Catford Park) writes:

"As a regular reader of *Peace News* and being a member of the Peace Pledge Union, I am puzzled by the lack of support given to one of your appeals."

"The membership of the PPU is increasing at the rate of over 1,000 per month, yet there is no increase in the amount of donations to the Peace News Fund."

"I notice, also, in a recent issue of *Peace News* that the sum of £4 12s. was contributed to the fund in the week previous."

"This sum is pitifully below that which it should be, and I wish, therefore, to put before you my suggestion for rectifying this unsatisfactory state of affairs."

"If each member of the PPU would subscribe one penny, and one penny only, to his, or her, Group Leader, who would be responsible for forwarding same to you, the *Peace News* Fund would benefit to the extent of at least £400."

"Surely it would not be asking too much for each member to subscribe one penny to such an important cause?"

(The "Peace News" fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to "Peace News." Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

*

Our printing order last week was 34,450 and by Wednesday morning we had only 370 copies still left in our hands.

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

*

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 187 12.1.40

News of the Tribunals

POLITICAL OBJECTOR IS GIVEN EXEMPTION

DESPITE the recent decisions of the Appellate Tribunal against two political objectors, a member of the Independent Labour Party was given exemption by the Newcastle Tribunal on condition that he remained in his present employment.

The applicant, Mr. Hepple, based his objection entirely on political grounds.

Although suffering from a damaged bone in his leg, he insisted on standing on his convictions rather than escaping military service on medical grounds.

Other Tribunal Results

IN the following analysis of local tribunals' decisions, **A** stands for unconditional exemption, **B** for conditional exemption, **C** for registration for non-combatant duties, and **D** for unqualified registration for military service:

SOUTH-WESTERN, Jan. 2, 3, and 4	
A .. . 5	C 13
B 26	D 4
Total .. 48	

Our observer comments: "There is no falling off in the character of the tribunal. Any apparent tightening up in the proceedings is explained in the fact that either a plea for absolute exemption is not sustained or, as in many cases, is not claimed."

NORTH-WESTERN	
Manchester, Nov. 17—21	
A 9	C 3
B 19	D 16
Total .. 47	

Liverpool, Dec. 5—15	
A 22	C 8
B 35	D 27
Total .. 92	

Manchester, Dec. 19—21	
A 8	C 7
B 11	D 10
Total .. 36	

Future Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors (dates are inclusive):

SOUTH-WESTERN
In Bristol, January 23—26.

NORTH-WESTERN
In Conference Hall, Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester, today, and January 16—19 (9.45 a.m.)

NORTH WALES
In Assize Court, Caernarvon, today (10 a.m. and 2 p.m.).

SOUTH WALES
In Civil Court, Law Courts, Cardiff, January, today (10 a.m. and 2 p.m.).
In Town Hall, Aberystwyth, January 18—19 (10 a.m. and 2 p.m., except January 17 when 1.30 p.m. only).

In Guild Hall, Swansea, January 22 and 25 (10.30 a.m. and 2 p.m.).
In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, January 26 (10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m.).
In Guild Hall, Swansea, January 29 (10.30 a.m. and 2 p.m.).

LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Thursdays (1.30 to 5 p.m.) and Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).
This tribunal also deals with **London** cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.
The above dates are subject to alteration at the discretion of the chairman of the tribunal, though changes are rare.

Demonstration Will Discuss Political Objectors

"Shall Socialist Objectors Be Gaoled?" will be the title of a No Conscription League demonstration to be held in Conway Hall, London, on Wednesday, January 24, at 7.30 p.m.

The speakers will include H. E. Elvin, ex-TUC President, and Fred Messer, Labour MP. The Chair will be occupied by Reg. Groves, Aylesbury Labour candidate. Political objectors, including members of the ILP, will make statements.

Genuine C.O.s

Mr. Donald Nappy, of 17 Gleelhow Avenue, Roundhay, Leeds, 8, writes: "An article by Rhys J. Davies, M.P., in your issue of January 5, asserts that only 4 percent were registered unconditionally (regarded as genuine) in the London area, and proceeds to give figures for other areas. Surely a person who objects to combatant duties only is regarded as genuine if he is excused combatant service and a person who objects to non-combatant duties also if he is given civilian duties in work of national importance."

News of the Tribunals

What They Said About War ...

No. 7

"The object of the bomber is not to defeat the rival air force, but to terrify into submission populations whose women, children and homes are attacked and destroyed by fire, explosives and gas."

—The Times, January 12, 1938.

... Is Still True

was to fan Russian resentment to such a degree that the pact between Germany and Russia might be converted into an active military alliance. Of course, they cannot wish that, but they are behaving as if they did.

S. L. SALZEDO.

—News Chronicle, January 4.

Price "Control"

MR. OLIVER STANLEY, President of the Board of Trade, recently issued an order setting out a list of 150 goods in common use, with the maximum retail prices on August 21. Compare them with fair averages:

	Mr. Stanley's Fair average price.	price.
Men's socks	3 0 pr.	1 6 to 1 11
Cotton frocks	25 0 pr.	6 0 to 10 0
Infants' shoes	5 0 pr.	2 6 to 3 6
Cotton	1 6 yd.	8 1 to 1 0
72in. Cot. sheets	13 0 pr.	6 11 to 8 11
Tea towels	1 6 pr.	10 to 1 0
Knitting yarn	9 oz.	4 1 to 0 6

Any woman who does much shopping will see that the official prices allow for quite a good margin of "profiteering," without any addition.

E. C. HUDSON.

Another correspondent says: "We were selling cotton frocks at 3/11 on August 21!"

—Daily Herald, January 5.

Philosopher—20

I HAVE occupied space on this planet for twenty years and have reached the following conclusions:

1. That my own ignorance is appalling.
2. That no man is infallible.
3. That most men are fools.
4. That the ills of the world are due to the thickness of men's heads rather than the hardness of their hearts.
5. That as long as men are willing to fight, we shall have wars.
6. That the only man who can save the world from chaos is the individual.
7. That people who talk about Youth, should try thinking as a new pastime.
8. That women in quantities greater than unity are a bad thing.
9. That too many people write to Picture Post.
10. That the burlesque theatre has replaced the Church.
11. That Havelock Ellis has done more for humanity than psalm singers.
12. That the coming Peace Treaty will be worse than Versailles.
13. That a society should be formed to prevent people from doing things.

W. ERNEST BENNETT.

—Picture Post, January 6.

TEACHERS URGE PEACE TALKS

THE Secondary Schoolmasters' Conference at Oxford passed on Friday a resolution urging teachers to call a peace conference of nations "in view of the progressive damage to education arising out of the war situation and in the interests of the future generations of this country."

Mr. J. Weltman, of the City of London School, said: "Even if the resolution will not have any effect on our country's policy, we can stand by our belief."

The Petition Committee wishes to express its sincere thanks to all who have collected signatures and requests friends who have not yet sent in all their petition sheets to do so without fail not later than Thursday, January 18, as the petition is to be presented as soon as possible after that date. Sheets should be sent to Councillor W. C. Elliott, 36 Hanworth Road, Redhill, Surrey.

Finland

SHOULD not sympathy with Finland be tempered by a little discrimination? Part of the British Press and, of course, the BBC undertook the responsibility of announcing, a little while back, that the Russians were using gas shells. This was on the authority of a person, unnamed, said to have received a letter from a Swedish doctor, unnamed, in Finland.

The accusation has not recurred, which sufficiently indicates its irresponsible character.

Generally, some of the Press, and the BBC, seem to be exhibiting such a lack of restraint in relation to Russia (far more than in relation to Germany) that one might think that their object

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